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SUBJECT: SECURITY COUNCIL AGAIN DEBATES THE FUTURE OF  
PEACEKEEPING

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11. (SBU) Summary: U/SYG Alain Le Roy, U/SYG Susana Malcorra and UNAMID Force Commander Agwai briefed the Security Council on August 5, during an open debate on peacekeeping convened by the UK. The two U/SYGs highlighted key themes in the Secretariat's recently issued "New Horizon" non-paper, including: strengthening cooperation between the Council, troop contributors and the Secretariat in mission planning and conduct; improving management and oversight of UN missions; deepening understanding of what is entailed for protection of civilians and "robust" peacekeeping; shifting from a focus on numbers to a "capability-driven" approach; crafting better transition and peace-building strategies; and rethinking business models for mission support. General Agwai, the outgoing Force Commander for the UN Assistance Mission in Darfur (UNAMID), candidly described some of the peacekeepers' limitations and shortcomings in fulfilling their protection of civilians mandate in Darfur.

12. (SBU) Summary Cont'd: Ambassador Rice, Council and non-Council members alike encouraged the U/SYGs to further develop their ideas in the months ahead, but largely stopped short of commenting on specific recommendations in what is still just a non-paper. Troop and police contributing countries signaled some cautious appreciation for the Council's intentions to improve consultations with TCCs, in contrast to previous years' acerbic expressions of frustration. Ambassador Rice utilized the occasion to inform the Council of the U.S. Congress' recent appropriation of funds that will enable the U.S. to clear peacekeeping arrears from 2005-2008 and meet obligations for 2009 in full, originally estimated at approximately \$2.2 billion. The Council adopted a Presidential Statement outlining measures to enhance the peacekeeping mandate formulation process, strengthen dialogue with the Secretariat and deepen consultations with troop and police contributing countries on collective oversight of UNPKOs. End Summary.

Secretariat Calls for Better  
Coordination, Shared Vision  
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13. (SBU) Under Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations Alain Le Roy, Under Secretary-General for Field Operations Susana Malcorra and UNAMID Force Commander Martin Luther Agwai briefed the Security Council about the future of UN Peacekeeping Operations (UNPKOs) in a thematic debate on August 5 convened by the U.K. In addition to Council members, 22 other countries made statements, including Sweden on behalf of the EU, Morocco on behalf of the Non-Aligned

Movement (NAM), and several major troop contributing countries (TCCs). The Force Commanders for each of the 14 UNPKOs, in New York for their annual meeting, attended the beginning of the debate.

¶4. (SBU) Under Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations Alain Le Roy highlighted that next year will mark a decade since the publication of the Brahimi report (S/2000/809) and recalled the 2008 Capstone Doctrine, which reaffirmed "the basic principles of UN Peacekeeping--consent, impartiality, and the non-use of force except in self-defense and defense of mandate." Le Roy underscored the importance of having "a peace to keep," a political process to support and an integrated approach to peacekeeping. Le Roy noted that the British-French initiative, launched in January, and the Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations chaired by Japan have helped identify urgent challenges including finding sufficient personnel, equipment, senior leaders and political leverage, formulating a "shared vision" on the use of UNPKOs, and identifying effective transition strategies to ensure sustained recovery.

¶5. (SBU) Le Roy emphasized four key points from the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and Department of Field Support (DFS) New Horizons non-paper, released in July as a part of a process to reinvigorate UN peacekeeping: 1) the need for the Council and Secretariat to improve the quality of assessments through enhanced information sharing; 2) the need to improve management and oversight of UNPKOs as well as accountability controls between headquarters and mission leaders; 3) the need to develop a common view of the role that peacekeepers should play in the protection of civilians and critical peacekeeping tasks; and 4) the need

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for the Council and Secretariat to shift from a focus on numbers toward a "capability-driven approach."

¶6. (SBU) Le Roy underscored DPKO's commitment to monitor missions' progress more carefully, provide the Council with timely information and assessments, and consult with the Council and TCCs in advance of the deployment of technical assessments missions, and continue to produce benchmarks for missions.

¶7. (SBU) Under Secretary-General for Field Support Susana Malcorra remarked that DFS must holistically improve its response to the evolving and increasing needs for support. Malcorra called for an updated regulatory framework to "strike the right balance between the demands for effective delivery and the demands to comply with rules and regulations." She also called for striking the appropriate balance between "the risk to mandate delivery associated with delays in mission deployment and the risks stemming from increased operational empowerment." Malcorra announced DFS' intention to seek Member State guidance on the establishment of a new support framework for the delivery of services and field operations, the adoption of standardized mission support models, and the implementation of flexible resource management strategies. Malcorra emphasized that support is "not an end in itself," but rather serves the ultimate purpose of achieving and maintaining peace in conflict zones.

¶8. (SBU) UNAMID Force Commander General Martin Luther Agwai reported on the challenges confronting UNAMID and emphasized the lack of key enablers to carry out the mission, especially military helicopters and communication technology. Agwai explained that effective peacekeeping requires sufficient enablers, well-trained troops, an effective command and control structure, and the willingness to accept casualties. He noted that a lack of skills, discipline, and equipment as well as the inadequacy of predeployment training among peacekeepers in Darfur has limited their ability to perform critical functions such as extended patrols. Agwai emphasized the "high burden of expectations" shouldered by UN peacekeepers, noting that "when the UN deploys, civilians

expect protection."

U.S. Reaffirms Commitment to UNPKOs,  
Asks Others to Follow Suit

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¶9. (SBU) Ambassador Rice implicitly encouraged further development of ideas put forward by U/SYGs Le Roy and Malcorra without expressly taking a position on individual recommendations contained in what is still just a non-paper. Rice urged the Council and Secretariat to do a better job of consulting with troop and police contributing countries, especially when adopting or renewing mandates, and noted that "success in peacekeeping depends on our collective unity of purpose and effort." She called for "clear, credible and achievable mandates" and stated that the U.S. would not simply "roll-over" mandates upon their expiration. Ambassador Rice urged Members States to "do more for UN peacekeeping" and noted Congress' recent appropriation of funds to clear U.S. peacekeeping arrears from 2005-2008 as well as fully fund U.S. peacekeeping obligations in 2009 (originally estimated at \$2.2 billion but likely to be closer to \$1.9 billion). (NOTE. At a press conference following the morning session, U/SYG Le Roy stated that he was "extremely grateful" for the appropriation and for the support expressed by Ambassador Rice and Congress for UNPKOs. The Australian PermRep also praised the U.S. for its contributions. END NOTE.)

Council Members Pledge Better Cooperation with  
TCCs; Non-Committal or Supportive in General  
Terms Only of "New Horizon" Proposals

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¶10. (SBU) U.K. PermRep Sawers stated that UNPKOs represent a "unique global partnership" and called for greater involvement of troop and police contributing countries as well as better information sharing, especially on military issues. Sawers called for establishing realistic peacekeeping mandates based on achievable objectives and encouraged the incorporation of peacebuilding and peacekeeping efforts into broader political strategy. Sawers stated that UNPKOs must protect civilians, ensure human

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rights, help build national police forces, and support judiciaries and electoral processes. Sawers "support(ed) the call...to establish a new horizon for (UNPKOs)" but did not expressly endorse the report.

¶11. (SBU) French PermRep Ripert called for sustainable UNPKOs based on "clear and hierarchical" mandates specifically tailored to the conflict at issue. Ripert praised the French-British initiative, launched in January, for increasing dialogue among the Council, Secretariat and TCCs. Ripert called for increasing dialogue with TCCs, NGOs and UN specialized agencies on issues such as protection of civilians, combating sexual and gender-based violence and preventing recruitment of child soldiers. Ripert stated that UN peacekeepers might sometimes need to take actions which place civilians at risk. Finally, Ripert called for enhancing the UN's capacity to "implement complex mandates" which touch upon issues such as rule of law, human rights and economic development. Ripert made no mention of the New Horizon report.

¶12. (SBU) Chinese Deputy PermRep Liu called for "revers(ing) the trend of favoring conflict resolution over prevention," in order to reduce the need for UNPKOs. Liu stated that UNPKOs "must exercise caution in the use of force and avoid excessive emphasis on military options." Liu urged more discussion on the issue of mandating UNPKOs to protect civilians, noting the "divergence of views" on this point. He stated that most TCCs are developing countries, and "call(ed) on more countries to contribute troops to peacekeeping operations." Lastly, Liu urged increased

cooperation with regional organizations, especially the African Union.

¶13. (SBU) Russian Deputy PermRep Shcherbak derisively characterized the New Horizon report as "an adequate assessment" of UNPKOs and declared Russia's intention to "carefully study (its) proposals and recommendations...particularly since many of them require further analysis." Shcherbak called for improved consultations among the Council, Secretariat and TCCs, greater cooperation with "regional structures," including the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the Collective Security Treaty Organization. Shcherbak criticized the New Horizon report for "overlooking the need for effective military consultations," and questioned the feasibility of "robust peacekeeping." Shcherbak highlighted Russia's contributions to UNPKOs in the Middle East, Africa, Haiti and Kosovo, recommended the reactivation of the Military Staff Committee (MSC), comprised of all 15 Council members, and stated that the PRST did not sufficiently address the role of the General Assembly's Peacekeeping Committee (C-34).

¶14. (SBU) There was general consensus among other Council members on the need to improve coordination and increase dialogue among the Council, Secretariat and TCCs. Japanese Deputy PermRep Okuda urged the creation of informal "Coalition Groups" comprised of regional organizations and donors, while Libya Deputy PermRep Dabbashi called for increased collaboration with regional organizations, specifically the African Union. Austrian PermRep Mayr-Harting said that Council briefings on the status of UNPKOs by field commanders are "indispensable" and should be conducted more frequently. He also stressed the importance of peacekeepers' protection of civilians mandate and looked forward to debate on this subject in November, during the Austrian Presidency.

Non-Council Members Urge Better Coordination  
and Support for "Basic Principles"

¶15. (SBU) Sweden, speaking on behalf of the EU, called for wider and different forms of burden-sharing for UNPKOs since "countries bring different contributions to peacekeeping, and regional organizations take on an increasing share of the burden." Sweden also pressed for "closer consultation mechanisms between the different actors involved in peacekeeping," and noted the implementation of the Joint-Declarations on UN-EU Co-operation of 2003 and 2007.

¶16. (SBU) Canada called for improved performance on the non-military dimensions of UNPKOs to create conditions for successful peacebuilding and stated that "policing, security

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system reform, and rule of law are now recognized as core functions of modern UN peacekeeping." Australia emphasized that "informal mission-specific coalitions of engaged stake-holders" can mobilize political support and resources. Norway pushed for greater commitments from countries not yet contributing their full potential to UNPKOs and urged moving away from "a somewhat obsessive focus on troop numbers to a focus on quality and total capability." New Zealand remarked that recruitment and retention of capable UNPKO personnel, despite omission from the New Horizon paper, is critical for UNPKO success and "deserves a renewed focus." Brazil called for "exploring synergies between peacebuilding and peacekeeping."

¶17. (SBU) Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) members expressed cautious appreciation for the Council's recent increased consultations with TCCs, in particular through the Security Council Working Group chaired by Japan. They reiterated, as in all prior statements, the importance of UNPKOs adhering to what they referred to as peacekeeping's "basic principles": consent of the parties, impartiality, and the non-use of

force except in self-defense. Morocco, speaking on behalf of NAM, underscored that "the concept of self-defense of the mandate cannot be put at the same level as the three guiding principles, since its application is restricted to the operational and tactical levels." NAM members also reiterated calls for developed countries to share the deployment burdens of peacekeeping, to engage TCCs when drafting, changing, and renewing mandates, and more generally to strengthen cooperation among TCCs, the Secretariat and the Council. India urged active consultation with TCCs, as opposed to passive information sharing, and called for "applying the capacities and knowledge of countries that have undergone successful post-colonial nation-building exercises to (conflict) situations."

¶18. (SBU) Morocco, Pakistan, Guatemala and Uruguay stated that DPKO's New Horizon report and the French-U.K. initiative must be considered by the UNGA's Special Committee on Peacekeeping (C-34) because it "is the only forum to comprehensively review UNPKOs." Reiterating a theme from earlier debates, Guatemala articulated its view that the expression "financial contributors" should not be used in connection with UNPKOs since "all Member States contribute to the budget in accordance with their capacity to pay."

¶19. (SBU) Pakistan encouraged "a more meaningful and tangible partnership" with TCCs and called for the "adequate representation of the major TCCs at the leadership level in the field and particularly at the headquarters." On the issue of collective burden sharing and greater participation of Member States, Pakistan pushed for "the two-way process" which ties increases in contributions to increases in decision-making power.

¶20. (SBU) Several delegations, including Indonesia, South Africa, and Thailand, emphasized the crucial role of regional and sub-regional organizations in peacekeeping and urged the United Nations to strengthen the capacity of these organizations. While Bangladesh and Serbia agreed that regional organizations can play a complementary role to UNPKOs, they noted that these organizations should not be used as a substitute for UN involvement.

#### Council Adopts Peacekeeping PRST

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¶21. (SBU) Following the open debate, the Council adopted Presidential Statement S/PRST/2009/24 by consensus. The PRST praised the efforts of the Council over the past six months to improve dialogue with the Secretariat and deepen consultations with TCCs on collective oversight of peacekeeping operations. The PRST acknowledged that further improvements are necessary in the following areas: (1) ensuring that peacekeeping mandates are clear, credible, achievable and adequately resourced; (2) improving information sharing, especially on the military level; (3) increasing interaction with the Secretariat on military, police, justice, rule of law and peacebuilding issues; (4) improving engagement with TCCs, especially before renewing or modifying mandates; (5) increasing awareness of the resource and field support implications of its decisions; and (6) enhancing understanding of the strategic challenges that confront UNPKOs.

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¶22. (SBU) The PRST recognized the importance of framing peacekeeping initiatives in the context of broader political strategy, enlarging the pool of TCCs, and strengthening the capacity of the African Union and other regional organizations to maintain international peace and security. The PRST further recognized the need for coherence among peacemaking, peacekeeping, peacebuilding and post conflict initiatives.

¶23. (U) Note: A transcript of the debate is available on

the Security Council section of the UN website, [www.un.org](http://www.un.org),  
under "Meetings."  
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